

that George Washington was a great belief in democracy, and, may I add some of the phrases in which he gave expression to those attributes, will stand out forever as beacons to guide troubled nations and their perplexed leaders. Resolute in war, he was moderate in victory. Misrepresented, misunderstood, underestimated, he was patient to the last. But the people believed in him all the time, and they still believe in him.

In his life he was a great American. He is an American no longer. He is one of those giant figures, of whom there are very few in history, who lose their nationality in death. They are no longer Greek or Hebrew or English or American—they belong to mankind. I wonder whether I will be forgiven for saying

American, but Abraham Lincoln belongs to the common people of every land. They love that haggard face with the sad and tender eyes. There is a worship in their regard. There is a faith and a hope in that worship. The people, the great people who can produce men like Lincoln and Lee for their emergencies, are sound to the core. The qualities that enabled the American nation to bring forth, to discern, to appreciate and to follow as leaders such men are needed now more than ever in the settlement of the world. May I respectfully, but earnestly, say one word from this platform to the great people of America: This torn and bleeding earth is calling today for the help of the America of Abraham Lincoln.—N. Y. Times.

Abraham Lincoln, Emancipator.

By the Rev. Charles H. Stackpole.

The great factor in the destruction of slavery was the election of Abraham Lincoln as President in 1860 by the Republican Party, which had declared against the extension of slavery into the territories. The election was a sectional triumph, Lincoln not receiving a single vote in the ten states which soon after seceded to form the Confederacy, and was looked upon by the Southern people generally as a blow aimed with fatal intent at their cherished institution. In spite of a last attempt at compromise, secession speedily followed. Early in February, 1861, the Confederate States was formed, the government resting on this cornerstone: "The great truth that slavery is the Negro's natural and normal condition." War was inevitable. The house divided against itself could no longer stand. The irrepressible conflict had come to a head. The South struck the first blow, and immediately, at the President's call, the whole nation sprang to arms. The bloody struggle was on which was to cement the Union and free the slaves.

No man knew better than Lincoln that the motive to secession was the desire to extend and perpetuate the institution of slavery. But the inaugural message of 1861 contains no word whatever on the subject. The sound reason for this was his desire to escape partisan contention, which might embarrass his position by alienating the support of the border states and Union Democrats. There is good evidence, however, that Lincoln understood the scope of the conflict from the beginning. While in finance, diplomacy, and the art of war some mistakes and certain limitations are plainly discernible, it is the verdict of history that, from the first, he handled the slavery question with scarcely a flaw.

By the summer of 1862 political sentiment had crystalized into statute law, prohibiting entirely the existence of slavery in the territories, including the District of Columbia. But Lincoln went further than Congress, for in March he recommended the gradual emancipation of all slaves, with compensation for slave-owners. If his offer had been accepted in good faith, the South could have received about four hundred dollars for each slave set free. Later in May he repudiated General Hunter's order declaring all slaves in South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida free, saying, "No

commanding general shall do such a thing on my responsibility without consulting me." This was a matter evidently that he proposed to keep entirely in his own hands.

Reverses in the field stimulated his desire to strike at slavery and quickened his policy of gradual emancipation, compensation for owners by the Federal Government, and the colonization of the freedmen of South America, Haiti, and Liberia. On July 12 he called the senators and representatives of the border union slave states to the White House and asked them to favor his policy, saying: "If the war continues long, slavery in your states will be extinguished by the mere incidents of the war. It will be gone and you will have nothing valuable in lieu of it. How much better for you and for your people to take the step which at once shortens the war and secures substantial compensation for that which is sure to be wholly lost in any other event." From a patriotic viewpoint, in order to shorten the war and to save the Union, as well as for their personal advantage, he urged them to accept at once his policy of gradual emancipation but was unable to gain their consent. So identified had slavery become with the political and social life of those states, that they could not, even on the verge of its collapse, discern its impending doom. In this deal the border states had only their obstinacy to blame for losing a good bunch of respectable Government bonds and receiving later a flat loss instead.

Meanwhile the Confederate cause continued to employ to good effect the slaves in the support of their armies and military operations; and the decision of emancipation as a military necessity steadily and speedily developed in the President's mind. On July 22 he surprised the cabinet by reading a proclamation of emancipation which he proposed to issue, but from which he was dissuaded, chiefly by Seward, owing to military reverses, of which there were plenty just then. "Wait for military success," was the advice, and Lincoln agreed that it was sound.

This cabinet meeting was kept secret, and it is interesting now to read some of the comments of the radicals at that time. "What a pity," wrote Charles Eliot Norton, that "the President should not have issued a distinct and telling proclamation!" Thaddeus Stevens spoke of Lincoln's gradual emancipation policy

as "the most diluted, milk-and-water gruel proposition that was ever given to the American nation." "The Administration," he said, "should free the slaves, enlist and arm them, and set them to shooting their masters if they will not submit to the Government." Sumner said with uplifted hand: "I pray the President may be right in delaying, but I am afraid, I am almost sure he is not. I trust his fidelity but I cannot understand him." Greeley, in his "Prayer of Twenty Millions," said, "We complain that the Union cause has suffered and is now suffering from your mistaken deference to rebel slavery." This gave occasion to the famous reply, "What I do about slavery and the colored race I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union." These words were widely read and approved. They gave the people to see his invulnerable position.

After two months more of profound consideration, weighing all the chances for and against the emancipation as a military measure, Lincoln, encouraged by the battle of Antietam, on Sept. 22 read the proclamation to his cabinet, and on the next day it went to the country. To the cabinet he said: "The rebel army is now driven out of Maryland, and I am going to fulfil the promise I made to myself and my God. I have got you together to hear what I have written down. I do not wish for your advice about the main matter, for that I have determined for myself." He then read the proclamation of freedom: "On the first day of January, 1863, all persons held as slaves within any state or designated part of a state, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free." In the case of the local slave holders both in Union states and in seceded states, he still adhered to his purpose of compensation. The proclamation revealing as it did in clearcut manner the fundamental issue of the war, turned the divided channel of public sentiment abroad in favor of the North, received the approval of Congress, and when sustained by military victories carried the enthusiastic support of all the loyal states.

On Jan. 31, 1865, the House of Representatives by the necessary three-fourths majority gratified the President's ardent wish by voting to submit what is now known as the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution. "In honor of the sublime event" the House at once adjourned.

The measure of the revolution of those momentous years from 1861-'65 may be estimated by the contrast of the compromise attended in Congress in March, 1861, which was then intended to be the thirteenth amendment, and the one finally inspired by Lincoln and adopted by the country. The former read: "No amendment should be made to the Constitution which will authorize or give to Congress the power to abolish or interfere within any state with the domestic institutions thereof including that of persons held to labor or service by the laws of said state." The latter read: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

The emancipation was and will remain Lincoln master step of statesmanship and renders his sublime place in history forever secure.—Abraham Lincoln, the Emancipator.

